

## Japanese–American–Chinese Cross–Cultural Contacts in 1870s–1880s New Haven

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In four consecutive years from 1872, the Qing government in China dispatched detachments of 30 Chinese students every year (totaling 120 students) to study overseas in the United States. They were the so-called Chinese Educational Mission (CEM) boys. The CEM idea was proposed by Yung Wing, the assistant commissioner of the CEM, himself the first Chinese to graduate from a United States university. The author, in her research on Yung's life during his overseas studies, found in the Yale University Library's collection of Yung Wing Papers a set of personal letters, dated between 1849 and 1853, from Yung to the missionary Samuel Wells Williams who was then residing in Canton and Macau. In a letter dated April 15, 1849, Yung then studying in the Monson Academy asked Williams the following request: when he left for overseas study, he had promised to return after 2–3 years, but he needed another 6 years to complete university studies, so he asked Williams to ask for his mother's permission through help from uncle Ming Cheong. Williams was entrusted with this matter because he was close to the Chinese community, had their trust, and Yung's cousin Ashow was then working in Williams' household<sup>1</sup>. In a letter dated December 25, 1850 when Yung was studying in Yale University, he wrote, "I am very glad that my mother has seen you and also

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<sup>1</sup> Ming Cheong was probably 容明彰, and Ashow was probably 容達爽 in the Yung genealogy. (容聯芳, 1929:15–6)

that she is well.” In a letter dated December 30, 1852 he wrote, “if you should find it convenient to let my mother have \$25.00 out of the thirty (that I sent you), that if she should not be living, the twenty-five dollars should be equally divided between my sister and brother.”

The original versions of these letters were in Yale University Library’s collection of Williams’ family’s papers. In the course of reading other letters in this collection, the author discovered a letter (dated Apr 5, 1854 in Samuel Wells Williams Papers, Box 2) written by Yoshida Shoin to Perry, on the occasion when he stole aboard the USS Pawhatan anchored off the Shimoda coast, requesting for help to smuggle out of Japan. Williams was then Perry’s interpreter, so it was likely that Williams kept the original after translating Yoshida’s secret letter.

Another American who had early contacts with both Chinese and Japanese was Samuel Robbins Brown, the missionary who brought three Chinese youths including Yung to the United States in 1847. When the author visited his grave in the Brown family cemetery in Monson, Massachusetts, she found the gravestones of two Japanese, Ashihara Shuhei and Kunitomo Takinosuke<sup>2</sup>. In following up this discovery, she also learned that Brown was assigned to be a missionary to Japan again in 1859, and he sent six Japanese students from the Satsuma-han to study overseas at his alma mater (same school where he sent the three Chinese students) in the United States in 1866 (Griffis, 1902:205–6).

Another important name was Birdsey G. Northrop. When the author read the student register of the high school attended by Zhan Tianyou, a CEM boy who later became the “father of China’s railway”, she found the name of

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<sup>2</sup> Discovered on Jun 14, 2001.

a female Japanese student Yamakawa Sutematsu (Hillhouse High School, 1886:29). Kuno wrote in Sutematsu's biography that her student homestay in the United States was arranged by Northrop (久野, 1997:93-6). The author confirmed that this was the same Northrop who also arranged for the host families of the CEM boys (United States Department of State, 1873-74: 141-2).

The above unexpected discoveries led the author to consider the necessity of further pursuing (1) the activities of missionaries and intellectuals who had contacts with both Japanese and Chinese students aspiring to learn from the west, and (2) the contacts and relationships between Japanese and Chinese overseas students through these activities.

Previous research works regarding the student lives of overseas students from both countries have studied their interactions with American intellectuals, missionaries, teachers and host families<sup>3</sup>. For example, Shiozaki Satoshi studied the interactions between Japanese overseas students and Japanologists (知日派) in the area around Boston. He postulated that not only were Japanese students responsible for transferring advanced western knowledge back to Japan, they were also important in disseminating information about Japan to westerners (塩崎, 2001:22). However, few studies focused on interactions between Americans and overseas students from multiple countries, and interactions between overseas students of different countries at their locations of study. A rare example was the paper by Muto Shutaro about the meeting between Asakawa Kan'ichi, a Japanese who graduated from Yale University, and Hu Shi, a Chinese who graduated from Columbia University, although not during their overseas study years but in

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<sup>3</sup> For example, Rhoads (2011), 塩崎 (2001), autobiographies and biographies of these overseas students.

1917 and their academic interactions then after (武藤, 2013).

This paper firstly clarifies the background and footsteps regarding relationships between Americans and Japanese and Chinese overseas students, then examines whether Japanese and Chinese students had built up interactions and friendships through their network of American acquaintances, schools and local communities, and finally makes observations about some background factors for the findings. Only Japanese and Chinese students in the United States were studied in this work because their similar experiences as overseas students may provide important insights to why Japan and China took different paths in their modernization, a topic the author has had continuous academic interest. Gen Ansei had a similar approach in his article comparing “Tokumei Zenken Taishi Bei-O Kairan Jikki” (a five-volume account of the Iwakura Mission compiled by Kume Kunitake) and “Guo Songtao: London and Paris Diaries,” where he mentioned that while both Kume and Guo, the Chinese Minister to Britain and France from 1877 to 1879, set off from similar starting points, were proud to have excellent foresight, and had comparable powers of observation and insights, Guo could not contribute to China’s enlightenment and progress (嚴, 2006:1).

This paper also intends, as the first step in a comparative study of Sino-Japanese modernization, to find out whether Japanese and Chinese students studying in Yale University in the same period set off from similar starting points.

The scope of study is limited in geography to New Haven and immediate areas, and to students related to Yale University. The reasons for this scope are the size practical for sufficiently covering the objects of interest, and the wealth of primary historical materials in Yale University and nearby local

libraries.

### I. New Haven: the stage of this historical drama

New Haven, situated on the south coast of Connecticut State, was in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century an important stop for trains and road traffic between New York and Boston. In this town was Yale University where Yung Wing became the first Chinese student to graduate from an American university. When Yung first made the journey in 1847 from Guangdong, across the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean, to the United States it took him 98 days (Yung, 1909:23). In 1867 the Pacific Ocean sea route opened, and in 1869 the Transcontinental Railroad linked North America's east and west coasts, thereby making possible the journey from Shanghai to America's Northeast in about six weeks <sup>4</sup>.

According to Megata Tanetaro, who was sent in 1870 from Daigaku Nanko (University South School) to study overseas in the United States, there were 37 Japanese students then, among who six were in New Haven. The six students were Omura Sumio and Machida Keiji, who were second and third sons, respectively, of Shimazu Tadahiro the Lord of Sadowara-han, Hashiguchi Sogi and Kodama Sokichi (Hidaka Jiro), both Sadowara samurai, Ohara Reinosuke (Yoshihara Shigetoshi) and Yuchi Jiemon, both Satsuma samurai (吉村, 2002: 27). Among the Japanese students, records were found in local schools of Ohara in Yale University, Hashiguchi in Hopkins Grammar School, and Machida Keiji and Nanbu Hidemaro in New Haven Collegiate and Commercial Institute<sup>5</sup> (Table 1). Those who were not in the registers

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<sup>4</sup> For example, the 1st CEM detachment left Shanghai on Aug 12, 1872 and arrived at Springfield, MA on Sept 23. (Rhoads, 2011:39, 46)

<sup>5</sup> Records of overseas students can be found in each school's Catalogue of the Officers and

Table 1 Japanese Students in New Haven in the 1870s and 1880s

(Total 45 names)

Around 1871	Omura Sumio, Machida Keijiro, Hashiguchi Sogi, Kodama Shokichi (=Hidaka Jiro), Ohara Reinosuke (=Yoshihara Shigetoshi), Yuchi Jiemon, Nanbu Hidemaro
From 1872	Tsuda Seiichi, Yamakawa Kenjiro, Yamakawa Sutematsu, Nagai Shigeko, and two students (names unknown) at Seaside Institute for Boys
From 1873	Hara Rokuro, Iwao Saburo
From 1874	Akabane Shiro, Shimazu Matanoshin, Tajiri Inajiro
From 1875	Tsuda Jun'ichi, Uryu Sotokichi, Serata Tasuku
From 1877	Mitsukuri Kakichi, Soma Nagatane, Hatoyama Kazuo
From 1878	Matsui Naokichi
From 1879	Okabe Nagamoto
From 1882	Yamanaka Koto
From 1884	Nakajima Rikizo
From 1885	Tsuchiya Soichi, Shigemi Shukichi
From 1886	Matsukata Kojiro, Sho Seijiro, Sawada Shunzo
From 1887	Iwasaki Seishichi, Ogura Matsuo, Okubo Toshitake
From 1888	Yuasa Kichiro, Yoshida Tetsutaro, Tanimura Issa
From 1889	Koya Saburo, Ichihara Morihiro, Harada Tasuku, Nozawa Keiichi, Kabayama Sugehide, Uchida Susumu

Sources: 吉村 (2002:27); 久野 (1997:104-5); 鳩山 (1929:27-8); 生田(2003:62-3); Yale College, Catalogue (1871-95)

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Students. Ohara's record is in Yale (1870) and Hashiguchi's record is in Hopkins Grammar School (1871). Machida's and Nanbu's school information was provided by William D. Fleming of Yale University. Related materials are archived in the Whitney Library, New Haven Museum and Historical Society, CT.

probably studied preparatory-level English.

Many more Japanese students came to New Haven in the following years. In 1872, Tsuda Seiichi and Yamakawa Kenjiro entered Yale University. On October 30 of the same year, Yamakawa Sutemasu and Nagai Shigeko, two female students who were among the Iwakura Mission entourage, and two male students (names unknown) who were about to enter the Seaside Institute for Boys in West Haven, were brought by Mori Arinori from Washington to New Haven (久野, 1997:104-5). Sutematsu stayed with Pastor Leonard Bacon in New Haven until her graduation from Hillhouse High School (久野, 1997:99).

Nagai Shigeko boarded at Pastor John Abbott's house in Fair Haven from November 1872, which was also the Abbott School, a private school run by Ellen, daughter of Pastor Abbott and principal. Nagai studied here until she entered university in 1878 (Uryu, 1927). In fact, Hatoyama Kazuo who entered Yale University, also boarded here from 1877 till 1880 when he graduated. By then, Pastor Abbott had passed away, but Abbott's widow and Ellen treated Hatoyama as family, and Ellen and Hatoyama were as close as siblings despite a 10-year difference in age (鳩山, 1927:27-8).

Nagai's future husband, Uryu Sotokichi, travelled to the United States in 1875 with Serata Tasuku and Inoue Ryochi, in order to enter the Annapolis Naval Academy. Uryu and Serata first studied English in New Haven (Ikuta, 2003:65). Uryu boarded with Pitman whose three daughters studied at Abbott School. From this relationship, Uryu became acquainted with Nagai, and his name was found in her autograph book dated 1876 (生田, 2003:62-5).

Nagai's autograph book contained, besides Uryu's signature, also those of Hatoyama, Kikuchi Takeo who was in the first detachment of Monbusho-sponsored students sent together with Hatoyama and who later attended

Law School in Boston University, Tsuda Jun'ichi who was studying at Yale University, and Megata Tanetaro who came again to the United States, this time as the overseas students' supervisor (生田, 2003:61). When five female students, including Nagai, who were in Iwakura Mission's entourage came to the United States, it was reported that Ito Hirobumi offered them miso-zuke for comfort against seasickness, and that they were told ghost stories and so on, all of which indicated that they had close relationships with the older male students (Uryu, 1927).

In the case of Chinese overseas students in New Haven, after Yung Wing attended Yale University between 1850 and 1854, no one followed suit until the 1870's when Yung himself brought the CEM boys. Among the middle and high school students, 4 attended the Seaside Institute for Boys from 1872/73 and advanced to Hillhouse High School which Sutematsu also attended, 10 attended Hopkins Grammar School beginning from 1875, 1878 and 1880 (Table 2). Ouyang Geng and Zhan Tianyou from Hillhouse High School, and Zeng Dugong, Li Enfu and Qi Zuyi from Hopkins Grammar School advanced to Yale University and resided in New Haven until they returned to China<sup>6</sup>.

In the 1870's and 1880's, the number of Chinese students who attended Yale University included 20 CEM boys and a private student Chen Long<sup>7</sup> who was believed to have travelled together with a detachment of CEM

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<sup>6</sup> Individual experiences of the CEM boys are found in Chinese Education Mission Connections: 1872-1881. Ref: [www.cemconnections.org](http://www.cemconnections.org) (last accessed Sept 25, 2015).

<sup>7</sup> Chen Long was an overseas-Chinese Hawaiian. His father Chen Fang was Yung Wing's friend. According to Twichell's diary there was an entry on Christmas 1877, "In the evening, Chun Lung, Y.C. [Yale College, 1875-1879; not with CEM] came to see me." Yale Obituary Record, 1880-90: 593. Twichell Personal Journal, vol 3. Rhoads, 2011: 106-7.



Table 2 Chinese Students in New Haven in the 1870s and 1880s  
(Total 30 names)

From 1872/3	Luo Guorui, Ouyang Geng, Pan Mingzhong, Zhan Tianyou
From 1874	Rong Shangqin, Zeng Pu
From 1875	Chen Long, Zeng Dugong
From 1878	Li Enfu, Qi Zuyi, Zhu Baokui, Liang Dunyan, Wang Renbin, Wu Huanrong, Zhou Chuan'e, Zhou Chuanjian
From 1879	Chen Jurong, Lu Yongquan, Zhong Juncheng, Cai Shaoji, Huang Kaijia, Tan Yaoxun, Zhang Kanren, Zhong Wen Yao
From 1880	Huang Zulian, Li Rugan, Liu Jiazhao, Chen Peihu, Rong Kui, Tong Guoan

Sources: Rhoads (2011:91); Hillhouse High School, Triennial Catalogue (1886-87:29-32); Hopkins Grammar School (1875/76-1881/82); Yale College, Catalogue (1871-95)

boys. After the CEM boys were recalled in 1881, no other Chinese students came in the 1880's. In contrast, Japanese overseas students came without break, and a total of 33 students attended in the same period<sup>8</sup>.

## II. Orientalists in New England, America

Relations between the United States and China began after the American Revolutionary War when the merchant ship Empress of China sailed from New York for Guangzhou in February 1784. Trade with Japan began in 1797 when the Eliza, flying the Dutch East India Company flag, sailed from Salem for Japan. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Japanese and Chinese imported goods had become so commonplace that they were no longer limited to the rich, but were also popular in the general consumer market.

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<sup>8</sup> Author's compilation from the 1871-1895 issues of the Yale College (Annual), Catalogue of the Officers and Students.

Salem Port became most important in this trade and greatly prospered<sup>9</sup>.

The missionary church began spreading to the East as trading ships travelled increasingly far from Europe during the Age of Discovery, and eventually landed in China and Japan. The earliest Protestant missionary, Robert Morrison, came from England via America and reached Guangdong in 1807. Morrison was first to translate the holy bible into Chinese, and first to compile a Chinese-English dictionary (王治心, 1959:150-3).

In 1839, Brown, who graduated from Yale University, came to Macau on the invitation of the Morrison Memorial School. Yung Wing attended this school. When Hong Kong was ceded to the British and the school moved there, Yung also relocated there. In 1847 when Brown returned to the United States, Yung and his friends Huang Sheng, Huang Kuan accompanied Brown. Yung studied at Brown's alma mater, Monson Academy, then advanced to Yale University, and in 1854 became Yale University's first Chinese graduate (Yung, 1909: 39-40).

In 1859, Brown was sent by the Dutch Reformed Church in the United States to Japan together with Duane B. Simmons and Guido Verbeck (Griffis, 1902:138). In 1866, Brown, on the recommendation of Yung (Northrop, 1872), sent six students, in the second detachment of Satsuma Overseas Students to the United States, among who were Ohara Reinosuke and Kito Ichisuke, to Monson Academy. Ohara advanced to Yale University in 1870, and became the first Japanese student there (吉原, 2013: 8, 22).

As trade prospered and foreign missionaries flourished, interest in the East grew. Against this background, an academic organization the

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<sup>9</sup> In Salem's Peabody Essex Museum, art pieces and handicrafts collected in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries are displayed, showing the interest and concern towards oriental cultures. Visited on Apr 30, 2013.

American Oriental Society was created in Boston. Its members were mainly scholars in Harvard University, Yale University and the like, and missionaries who had lived for years in various oriental places. General assembly was held twice yearly, during May in Boston and during October in New Haven. Due to deep ties with Yale University, the Society's library was also located in Yale. Members not only studied about the "East" as a whole with respect to the "West", they also interacted with overseas students from Japan and China, and actively involved in their care. Brown mentioned above was also a member<sup>10</sup>. After Yung Wing's proposed CEM Boys plan was approved by the Qing government, he wrote a note in February 1872 to Noah Porter, the incumbent president of Yale University, asking for advice and help. In his note, Yung asked Porter to inform ex-President Theodore Dwight Woolsey, Professor James Hadley and Professor Thomas Anthony Thaxter of the matter. All three men were members of the American Oriental Society. Upon receiving Yung's request for help, Hadley introduced him to the State Commissioner of Education Connecticut, Birdsey G. Northrop (容, 2009: 5).

Northrop was one of the persons central to New England's support of the overseas students and had experience in finding host families for Yamakawa Sutematsu and Nagai Shigeko, which he did to fulfill a request from Mori Arinori. He suggested to Yung that the boys should be divided into groups of between two to four. Each group would then homestay together with a New England family where the boys would learn English and adapt to the new environment before joining ordinary schools. Yung wholeheartedly

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<sup>10</sup> American Oriental Society published the "Journal of the American Oriental Society" from 1842, which contained society rules, regular general meeting schedules and records, reported papers, member lists and others.

agreed to this suggestion (容, 2009: 8). Northrop's name was not in the members list of American Oriental Society's journal. However, in the October 17, 1872 issue of the New York Evangelist Journal, it was reported in an article titled "American Oriental Society" that Northrop attended the Society's general meeting at Yale University held on the 9th and 10th of that month and presented his opinions during the following debate. A letter from Mori was introduced at the general meeting, "stating that the language of Japan is insufficient, and they would gladly introduce English, but find the orthography and etymology of that language great obstacles. Mr. Mori proposes to change our spelling, and make our irregular verbs regular." In the abovementioned article, it was written that in response to Mori's letter, Yale linguistic professor William Dwight Whitney gave his opinion how to simplify English for the Japanese and Northrop spoke about the likelihood of resistance in Japan to this change.

In 1895, when Northrop visited Japan, Kanda Naibu gave a speech of appreciation during the welcoming dinner party. Furthermore, Kanda reported in the *Taiyo* (Meiji 28th year August issue) about Northrop's visit, and expressed that "So scarcely any student went there (the United States) in the Seventys but was benefited by his kind advice and direction" (Kanda, 1895: 1-2).

Another person who was involved much with Japanese students was Addison Van Name. In the abovementioned article about the American Oriental Society general meeting, it was also written that Van Name presented a paper at the said general meeting about the Japanese language, and that he himself helped in the welfare of Japanese overseas students. During this period, only Tsuda Seiichi and Yamakawa Kentaro were studying at Yale University. Around 1870, Van Name stayed with his wife's

elder brother, Josiah Willard Gibbs, a lifelong bachelor, and in the same house were also six Japanese overseas students including Ohara and the Sadowara students<sup>11</sup>. Van Name was also a friend to Yung Wing. In 1877, Yung Wing donated with the help of Van Name, a total of 1237 Chinese publications to the Yale University library (Yung Wing Papers, “Letter from Yung Wing to Addison Van Name, Mar 1, 1877”).

Besides members of the American Oriental Society, other Americans also had friendly relationships with both Japanese and Chinese overseas students. One name that stood out among them was Joseph H. Twichell, who after graduation from Yale University advanced to Union Theological Seminary, then became a pastor at the Asylum Hill Congregational Church in Hartford in mid-state Connecticut. In Twichell’s diaries, kept now in Yale University’s Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, may be found some names of Japanese students from Hartford Public High School that was near the church and within its precinct. Twichell wrote in his diary on January 1, 1876 that Mitsukuri Kakichi, Kojima Noriyuki, Matsudaira Sadanori and Komai Shigetada had tea at his house, and on January 2, 1877 that these four students and Tajiri Inajiro had supper together with him (Twichell Personal Journal (TPJ), Vol 2).

Tajiri’s experiences provide important insights into the concern shown by American intellectuals such as Twichell towards the welfare of overseas students. In 1871, Tajiri, after coming to the United States, at first attended schools in New York and New Brunswick, but he could not adjust to the environment at both schools. It was written in his biography, “After surveying the alternatives, Tajiri visited Northrop, who was well-informed

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<sup>11</sup> Information courtesy of William D. Fleming, Apr 24, 2015. Fleming is preparing a paper on the interaction between Van Name and Japanese overseas students.

in matters of schools in the Northeast, and after expressing his aspirations, asked his help in finding a good school. Thereupon, Northrop recommended a high school in Hartford.” (田尻先生伝記及遺稿編纂会, 1933: 上22). Thus, with Northrop’s help, Tajiri entered the Hartford Public High School. However, in December 1873, the Meiji government, in a move to re-organize its overseas student program, ordered all government-funded overseas students to return home. Without government funding, Tajiri was about to discontinue his studies until Samuel Mills Capron, principal of Hartford Public High School, decided to “personally help with the school fees” and Tajiri managed to stay on (田尻先生伝記及遺稿編纂会, 1933: 上23).

Principal Capron passed away suddenly in 1874, but fortunately for Tajiri, he was a member of the Asylum Hill Congregational Church and a friend of Pastor John Hopkins Twichell. With the help of Pastor Twichell and his church congregation, Tajiri again managed to stay on and in 1874 entered Yale University (田尻先生伝記及遺稿編纂会, 1933: 上23; TPJ, Vol 2: Apr 17, 1876). After this incident the Japanese students in Hartford Public High School became close to Pastor Twichell. In his diary, besides the New Year visit mentioned before, Twichell wrote on April 17, 1876 that Tajiri was a guest, and on June 22 that Tajiri, Mitsukuri and Kojima were guests.

In Volume 1 of Twichell’s diaries, a letter was attached that was written from Mitsukuri Kakichi to Edward House, the New York Tribune’s Tokyo correspondent. Mitsukuri and Kojima Noriyuki travelled to the United States with House, and apparently through an introduction from House’s friend the famous writer Mark Twain, they became acquainted with Twain’s bosom friend Twichell (Courtney, 2010: 182). Twichell and Mitsukuri on three occasions had “prolonged dialogues about religion” according to Twichell’s diary (Feb 21, Nov 28, 1874, Jan 2, 1876). Again, on

October 10, 1876 when Twichell travelled to Troy, he visited Mitsukuri who was then studying at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (TPJ, Vol 2).

In 1871, Matsudaira Sadanori, governor (知藩事) of the Kuwano-han, accompanied by his retainer Komai Shigetada, went to Tokyo, learned English from Brown at Yokohama, and then went overseas to the United States in 1874. Brown wrote letters of introduction for them to John Mason Ferris who was Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church. Through Ferris, Matsudaira and Komai learned English and Mathematics at the New Brunswick Academy, a preparatory school affiliated to Rutgers University, then advanced to Rutgers University (瀬戸口, 2010: 64-5). However, the two men's names were also found in the school register of the Hartford Public High School, showing that they entered in 1876 and remained till 1878, after which it was recorded that Komai went to study Economics at Rutgers University (Williams, 2010: 2). It is not clear why both of them transferred to Hartford Public High School. The diary of Soma Nagatane who was then studying at Yale University had this entry, "Komai was staying at Tajiri's quarters, so in the afternoon I went to Tajiri's house" (瀬戸口, 2010: 66). Tajiri was also at this time a student of Yale University, and was living in New Haven. The above information suggests that the men who later founded Senshu College had already met one another in the United States. Again, there was a line in the "Soma Nagatane-O Kaikyuki (Recollections of Elder Soma Nagatane)" that claimed when Soma was an overseas student he had discussed with Tajiri and Komai about setting up a school to teach Law and Economics (瀬戸口, 2010: 66).

Twichell was also well-known for being the most fervent and steadfastly loyal supporter of Yung Wing (Courtney, 2010: 144-7). They became acquainted in 1872. This was probably when the CEM plan had become

realizable, and Yung, setting off ahead to make preparations, paid a visit to Hartford<sup>12</sup>. After their meeting, Twichell became a life-time supporter of the CEM, and spared no effort to help. In his diary, he wrote frequently of introducing Yung Wing and the CEM boys to the American society, bringing Mark Twain into his circle of supporters, and personally taking care of the boys himself. When the Qing government cancelled the CEM program, he strongly lobbied to have the order rescinded, but to no avail (Courtney, 2010: 205-7). He attended the farewell party on the eve of the second CEM group's departure, and lamented that it was "a never-to-be forgotten scene" (TPJ, Vol 4: Aug 6, 1881).

Twichell's enthusiasm in helping the CEM boys was explained in his own words in his diary, "To contemplate the presence of these orientals in our midst and the relations into which we are brought with them fills me constantly with the feeling of God's hand in human affairs" (TPJ, Vol 2: Jan 1, 1876). It seems that one reason for his actions was that he was bound by a feeling of duty.

It may be noted that Hartford Public High School had in the 1870s nine Japanese students, two of who advanced to Yale University, 26 CEM boys and one private Chinese student, six of who advanced to Yale University<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> According to Twichell's biography written by Courtney (2008), page 144, it was 1871, but there was no record of Yung Wing travelling to the US in 1871, so it was assumed that this happened in 1872, before the 1st detachment of CEM boys arrived.

<sup>13</sup> The 9 Japanese students were Tajiri, Mitsukuri, Kojima, Matsudaira, Komai, Machida Keijiro, Yokoi Chikashi, Yae Kinsaburo and Mogami Goro. The 27 Chinese overseas students were the private student Chen Long and the CEM boys Cai Shaoji, Cao Jiaxiang, Chen Jurong, Deng Guiting, Deng Shicong, Huang Kaijia, Huang Yaolang, Huang Zhongliang, Kang Gengling, Liang Dunyan, Liang Ruhao, Lu Xigui, Lu Zuhua, Qian Wenkui, Rong Shangqian, Shen Jiashu, Tang Shaoyi, Wu Jingrong, Wu Yangzeng, Wu Qizao, Xu Zhenpeng, Zhang Kangren, Zhang Xianghe, Zheng Tingxiang, Zhong



Principal Capron was admired by the Japanese students, five of who presented him in 1873 with a lacquered Japanese chest<sup>14</sup>. Capron who graduated from Yale University in 1853, spent three years together with Yung Wing during his university life, and his wife was Yung's classmate in Monson Academy. Consequently, he and Yung were friends on the family level. In fact, Capron's house in Hartford was shared between 1872 and 1874 by the Qing government office of the Chinese Educational Mission, which managed and supervised the CEM boys (Capron, 1955: 1-2).

### III. Yamakawa Sutematsu and the CEM Boys

Yamakawa Sutematsu was a female overseas student in the Iwakura Mission entourage. Until her high school graduation she stayed with Pastor Bacon, and even after entering university in the State of New York she would come back during long vacations. Sutematsu interacted with the CEM boys sent by the Qing government. In the summer of 1874, the 14-year-old Sutematsu met Tan Yaoxun and Liu Jiazhao at Colebrook where she visited with Mrs. Catherine Bacon (Bacon Family Papers (BFP), Folder 171, Box 8; Folder 178, Box 9).

Tan Yaoxun, like Sutematsu, was born in March 1860. Sutematsu left Yokohama on December 23, 1871, and arrived at her destination Washington on February 29, 1872 (久野 1997:70, 83). Tan left Shanghai on August 12, 1872 and arrived at Springfield on September 23 (Rhoads, 2011:39, 46). Tan

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Juncheng, Zhong Wenyao. Ref: Hartford Public High School, Monthly Report, from 1872-73 to 1881-82.

<sup>14</sup> The small Japanese chest is in the collection of the Hartford Public High School Museum and Archive. The presenters' names were in the attached letter, Yokoi, Yae, Machida, and a name not in the student register, S. Ichidu. Confirmed on May 3, 2013. Ichidu was probably Ichiki Sosuke, the nephew of Saigo Takamori.

and Liu home-stayed in Martha Burt's house in Oakham, Massachusetts. In 1874, Burt married and moved from Oakham to New Haven, so Tan and Liu were relocated to Edward Carrington's house in Colebrook (Rhoads, 2011:60, 72).

The Carringtons were traders and farmers. Their son Edward was Twichell's classmate at Yale University, and the two were bosom friends. Their relationship was probably the reason why the Carringtons, through their association with Twichell, became a host family in support of Yung's CEM plan. The Carrington daughters, Sarah (age 28) and Katherine (age 26) who were single, became tutors to Tan and Liu (Rhoads, 2011:72). Mrs. Bacon, who was Mrs. Carrington's cousin, had a habit of spending her summers at the Carrington farm. In 1874 and 1875, Mrs. Bacon brought Sutematsu along and hence Sutematsu became acquainted with Tan and Liu (BFP, Folder 171, Box 8; Folder 178, Box 9). In June, 1874, Tan sent Mrs. Bacon a greeting letter and asked about her latest situation (BFP, Sept 18, 1874, Folder 171, Box 8).

Tan entered Yale University in 1879 and moved to New Haven, but Sutematsu, having entered Vassar College in the previous year, had moved to the college dormitory in Poughkeepsie, New York (久野 1997:125). In 1880, Tan and another CEM boy Rong Kui were ordered to be forcibly repatriated to China by the CEM, owing to their conversion to Christianity, but they escaped at Springfield where they stopped to change trains. In the end, Rong Kui with the support of Yung Wing, and Tan with the support of Bacon and others, remained in the United States and graduated from Yale University in 1883 and 1884, respectively (Rhoads, 2011: 161-4).

Twichell negotiated with President Porter of Yale University to give Tan exemption from paying fees. Bacon wrote to guarantee that he would

personally provide two years' food and lodging for Tan. He asked for donations to cover other expenses (BFP, Oct 19, 1881, Folder 208, Box 11). The reason for Bacon's actions probably stemmed from knowing Tan since his younger days. In fact, after Tan was expelled by the CEM, he registered the Bacon house on 247 Church Street as his home address (Yale Catalogue, 1881-2). When Pastor Bacon passed away in December 1881, Tan and Sutematsu attended his funeral (Porter, 1882:224). Soon after this, Tan wrote a letter of condolence to Mrs Bacon, in which he mentioned his concern that Sutematsu had been sick (BPF, Jan 3, 1881, Folder 210, Box11).

Sutematsu graduated from Vassar College in June 1882, and left the United States for home in October (久野, 1997: 134, 142). Tan graduated from Yale University in 1883, and found a job at the Chinese Embassy in New York, but died of sudden illness on November 13 (Yale Obituary Record, 1884: 210). Five days before Tan's death, Sutematsu married Oyama Iwao and had started on her married life (久野 1997: 198-9). Whether and how Sutematsu might have received this sad news can only be guessed from other records. Alice Bacon, the youngest of Pastor Bacon's daughters, who had been brought up together with Sutematsu like sisters, and who went twice to Japan to teach English on the request of Sutematsu and Tsuda Umeko, wrote a letter to console the Carrington sisters over Tan's death (UBCHEA Archives, Folder 3294, Box 184). It is probable that Alice might have informed Sutematsu.

Hillhouse High School, where Sutematsu was a student, was also the school for Luo Guorui, Ouyang Geng, Pan Mingzhong and Zhan Tianyou of the CEM boys (Hillhouse High School, 1886). Although Sutematsu graduated in 1878 and the four CEM boys graduated in 1879, the fact that classes had only 37 and 39 students, respectively, points to a great chance that

Sutematsu and these CEM boys were acquainted.

In 1895 when Northrop visited Japan, Cai Tinggan of the second detachment of CEM boys was captured by the Japanese in the Sino-Japanese War. Cai was a navy ship captain in the war, and he was then held in Osaka awaiting prisoner exchange. However, Cai's comrades in China had falsely accused him of desertion in the face of battle, and, it was certain he would receive the death sentence if he returned. So Cai asked Northrop to help him. Northrop tried his best, and appealed to Saionji Kinmochi and other powerful politicians. "Minister Dun suggested that the court ladies should be interested through the Countess Oyama, who was under my supervision for 10 years in America, at the same time that Capt. Choy (Cai Tinggan) was there. I had been previously welcomed to her spacious mansion finely furnished in European style. She was my ready interpreter in presenting the case to Field Marshal Oyama, who listened with evident interest" (Northrop, 1895) appeared in the account that Northrop sent to The Springfield Daily Republican<sup>15</sup>, evidence that he also asked Sutematsu for her assistance. Shortly later, Cai was "allowed to escape" from imprisonment. No record remains whether Sutematsu knew Cai during her studies in America. However, Sutematsu agreed to help Northrop, who had been her guardian during her overseas study, to arrange for a meeting with her husband Field Marshall Oyama Iwao and also served as his interpreter. After Cai was released, he presented a portrait to Northrop as token of his gratitude. This portrait has been handed down through generations of Northrop's descendants (Kuga, 1972:87-8).

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<sup>15</sup> This article was translated to Japanese and recorded in 諸澄甲子吉編 (1895)、「ノースロップ氏と蔡廷幹」『日清戦争実記』39編、博文館、83-5ページ。

#### IV. Japanese and Chinese overseas students in Yale University

In this section, the focus is on the earliest 21 Japanese (1870–1887) and 21 Chinese (1874–1887) who were overseas students at Yale University. Yung Wing, who was the first Chinese overseas student to have studied at Yale University, between 1850 and 1854, is excluded here because the historical period background and environment, both within and outside the country, were different. A survey of each country's students is presented followed by a comparison across country lines (see Tables 3 & 4).

Table 3 Japanese Students in Yale between 1870–1887

	Name	Native Place	Age <sup>(1)</sup>	Years in Yale	School	Degree
1	Ohara Reinosuke	Satsuma	21	1870–71	Law	
2	Tsuda Seiichi	Kumamoto	17	1872–73	Sp <sup>(2)</sup> (SSS <sup>(3)</sup> , Fine Arts)	
3	Yamakawa Kenjiro	Aizu	17	1872–75	SSS	PhB
4	Hara Rokuro	Tajima	29	1873–73	Sp (Philosophy & Arts)	
5	Iwao Saburo	Kumamoto	21	1873–74	SSS	
6	Akabane Shiro	Aizu	17	1874–75	SSS	
7	Shimazu Matanoshin	Sadowara	20	1874–75	Sp (Philosophy & Arts)	
8	Tajiri Inajiro	Satsuma	21	1874–79	YC <sup>(4)</sup>	BA
9	Tsuda Jun'ichi	Nakatsu	22	1875–77	Philosophy & Arts, Law	
10	Mitsukuri Kakichi	Tsuyama	15	1877–79	SSS	PhB

11	Soma Nagatane	Hikone	21	1877-79	Sp (Law), Philosophy & Arts	
12	Hatoyama Kazuo	Mimasaka Katsuyama	19	1877-80	Law	LLM, DCL
13	Matsui Naokichi	Mino Ogaki	18	1878-79	SSS	
14	Okabe Nagamoto	Kishiwada	20	1879-81	SSS	
15	Yamanaka Koto	Karatsu	?	1882-83	Medicine	
16	Nakashima Rikizo	Fukuchi- yama	22	1884-89	Divinity	BD, PhD
17	Tsuchiya Soichi	Saga	17	1885-90	Law	LB, LLM, DCL
18	Shigemi Shukichi	Imabari	19	1885-91	SSS、Medicine	PhB, MD
19	Matsukata Kojiro	Satsuma	18	1886-90	Law	LB, LLM, DCL
20	Sho Seijiro	Omura	24	1886-87	Law	LLM
21	Sawada Shunzo	Oshi	26	1886-87	Law	LB

Degrees conferred: BA: Bachelor of Arts, PhB; Bachelor of Philosophy; PhD: Doctor of Philosophy; LB: Bachelor of Law; LLM: Master of Laws; DCL: Doctor of Civil Law; BD; Bachelor of Divinity; MD: Doctor of Medicine

Notes:

- (1) Age at time of entering United States
- (2) Special student
- (3) Sheffield Scientific School
- (4) Yale College

Source: Yale College, Catalogue (1871-95); Yale University (1910); Yale University (1914); Yale University (1924); Tuttle (1911); Yale University, Obituary Record. Tsuchiya's Japanese name and native place were found in 「海外旅券下付表」 issued on Mar 7, 1885 kept at 外務省外交史料館。

Table 4 Chinese Students in Yale between 1870-1887

	Name	Native Place <sup>(1)</sup>	Age <sup>(2)</sup>	Years in Yale	School	Degree
1	Rong Shangqin	Xiangshan	14	1874-75	SSS <sup>(3)</sup>	
2	Zeng Pu	Haiyang	18	1874-77	SSS	PhB
3	Chen Long	Xiangshan	16?	1875-79	YC <sup>(4)</sup>	BA
4	Zeng Dugong	Haiyang	16	1875; 76-77	YC	
5	Liang Dunyan	Shunde	14	1878-81	YC	BA(1907)
6	Ouyang Geng	Xiangshan	14	1878-81	SSS	PhB
7	Zhan Tianyou	Wuyuan, Anhui	11	1878-81	SSS	PhB
8	Chen Jurong	Xinhui	12	1879-81	SSS	
9	Lu Yongquan	Xiangshan	13	1879-81; 82-83	SSS	PhB
10	Zhong Juncheng	Xiangshan	13	1879-80	SSS	
11	Cai Shaoji	Xiangshan	12	1879-80	SSS	
12	Huang Kaijia	Zhenping	12	1879-81	YC	BA(1904)
13	Tan Yaoxun	Xiangshan	12	1879-83	YC	BA
14	Zhang Kangren	Xiangshan	12	1879-81	YC	BA(1913)
15	Zhong Wenyao	Xiangshan	11	1879-81	YC	BA(1904)
16	Qi Zuyi	Shanghai, Jiangsu	11	1880-81	YC	
17	Liu Jiazhao	Xiangshan	11	1880-81	SSS	
18	Chen Peihu	Nanhai	10	1880-81	YC	
19	Li Enfu	Xiangshan	12	1880-81; 84-87	YC	BA
20	Rong Kui	Xinhui	12	1880-84	YC	BA
21	Tang Guoan	Xiangshan	15	1880-81	YC	

Degrees conferred: BA: Bachelor of Arts, PhB: Bachelor of Philosophy

Notes

(1) All in Guangdong Province unless otherwise stated

(2) Age at time of entering United States

(3) Sheffield Scientific School

(4) Yale College

Sources: Chinese Education Mission Connections: 1872-1881; Yale College, Catalogue (1871-95); Yale University (1910); Yale University (1914); Yale University (1924); Yale University, Obituary Record

The source materials about these students are first explained. Information about the Chinese overseas students, such as birthplace, age, year when each went overseas and other individual information, are based on “Chinese Education Mission Connections: 1872–1881” (CEMC). Those for Japanese overseas students are from biographical dictionaries<sup>16</sup>, biographies, autobiographies and student passport records. The years they studied at Yale University, fields of study and degrees conferred were retrieved from the Catalogue of the Officers and Students. Another source is the Obituary Record of Graduates, published annually by Yale University, which listed graduates who had passed away and included summaries of their lives. The Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, 1701–1915, published in 1916 has information about those who graduated. In the case of students who did not graduate, 1914 and 1924 publications of the Directory of Living Non-graduates of Yale University were researched. Finally, the history of Yale University, its education system, types of degrees conferred were extracted from Yale: A History (Kelly) to supplement information from other mentioned materials.

## 1) Family Backgrounds

All 21 Japanese were probably members of the samurai class. Among them were a former feudal lord (Okabe Nagamoto), a feudal lord’s son (Shimazu Matanoshin), a son of a latter-year prime minister (Matsukata Kojiro), a descendant of the scholar family of Mitsukuri Genpo who pioneered Dutch Studies, and so on, that is, members of the elite class in

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<sup>16</sup> 大植四郎編 (1971)、日外アソシエーツ (1996)、日本歴史学会 (1981)、三田商業研究会 (1909)、古林編 (1987)、古林他編 (1987)、歴代知事編纂会 (1991)、『デジタル版日本人名大辞典＋Plus』。



Japan then. When grouped by their hometown locations, there were three from Satsuma, which had a central role in toppling the Tokugawa Shogunate, two from Kumamoto, which was a latecomer to the Meiji Restoration, and two from Aizu which belonged to the “Rebel Army”.

The Chinese students were probably not of the desperately poor farmer class, because in order to fulfill selection criteria all should have had some years of formal education. They were from families who had awareness of foreign countries such as those involved with missionary church activities who had learned foreign languages and were informed about foreign affairs, and a small number from the new minority elite class handling foreign affairs. Included in these groups were Zeng Pu and Zeng Dugong whose father Zeng Laishun was an English language teacher and was an interpreter for the CEM Commissioner, Yung Wing’s nephew Rong Shangqin, Yung’s distant relative Rong Kui, Tang Guoan from the Tang Tingshu clan of compradors, Huang Kaijia and Qi Zuyi whose father worked in customs (Rhoads, 2011: 23–4, 27). Most of the others came from families that had trading businesses at the treaty ports, and thus had direct contact with foreigners (Rhoads, 2011: 27–8). When grouped by their hometown locations, besides one from Shanghai (Qi Zuyi), one born in Anwei but grew up in Guangdong (Zhan Tianyou), two whose ancestors were from Guangdong but whose father was a Chinese living in Singapore, and who grew up in Shanghai (the brothers Zhen Pu, Zhen Dugong), the rest were born in Guangdong which was earliest to come into contact with foreigners.

## 2) Age and Motivation when setting forth for the United States

Except for one<sup>17</sup> on whom no information was found, 20 of the Japanese overseas students had an average age of 20.2 years when they set forth to

the United States. In contrast, the Chinese students' average age was 12.9 years. The eldest Japanese student was 29-year-old Hara Rokuro and the youngest was 15-year-old Mitsukuri Kakichi. The two eldest Chinese students were 18 years old and 16 years old (the Zeng brothers), the other CEM boys were all below 15 years old, and the youngest was 10-year-old Chen Peihu. Like the three young female students from Japan, the CEM boys became more fluent in English than in their mother tongues<sup>18</sup>.

The very young ages of most of the CEM boys when their overseas study was decided could only mean that they could not discern the consequences and it was rather the motivations of parents or guardians that mattered. Learning English and western knowledge could be seen as an alternative path that promised high status and success in life different from the traditional Imperial Examinations. Li Enfu's situation was probably an exception. His widowed mother, hearing of the recruitment for CEM boys from her cousin who had a business in Shanghai, left the final decision to her 12-year-old son (Lee, c1887: 94-5).

In the case of Japanese students, personal aspiration was the deciding factor in most cases, but motivations were much more varied than those of the CEM boys. Hatoyama Kazuo was selected as one of the first Monbusho-sponsored overseas students (鳩山, 1929:20). "Not noble-born nor an imperial

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<sup>17</sup> Yamanaka Koto's birthplace was Karatsu, but his age and date of travel to the US are unknown. It was thought that he travelled to Tokyo with Takahashi Korekiyo in 1872, so when he entered Yale University in 1882, he was probably close to 30 years old. (『去華就実』と郷土の先覚者たち：第7回 辰野金吾, <http://www.miyajima-soy.co.jp/kyoka/shaze7/shaze7.htm>, last accessed Sept 25, 2015)

<sup>18</sup> With respect to the female Japanese students, refer to 久野 (1997:151), 生田 (2003:124) and 古木 (1997:68-9). For the CEM boys, the letters in English from the author's grandfather to his family illustrate how western education in the overseas environment from early ages hindered their native tongue development.

university graduate, and thus without prospect of government favor,” Shigemi Shukichi was so motivated by desire to learn that he threw away a future in his family business (奥村, 2005: 5, 9). Matsukata Kojiro’s father was Finance Minister, and belonged to the han-batsu, but Kojiro left a guaranteed successful career in civil service for the chance to self-improve (神戸新聞社, 2007:93-4). Yamakawa Kenjiro, who fought with the pro-bakufu side that was defeated in the Boshin War, hoped to redeem his name by overseas study (男爵山川先生記念会, 1939: 63-4). A common factor in their decisions was their deep concern for Japan’s future in the rapidly changing international environment, hence they had clear awareness of their objectives in learning from the west.

### 3) Education before entering Yale University

Japanese overseas students in the earlier years had little chance in Japan to learn English and basic subjects typical of American secondary schools for entry into universities. Ohara Reinosuke, 21 years old (1866), departed for the United States in the second detachment of overseas students from the Satsuma-han, studied at the Monson Academy till 1869, and in 1870 became the first Japanese overseas student to enter Yale University, studied politics and law, and joined the Iwakura Mission locally (吉原, 2013: 5-6, 22-3).

Yamakawa Kenjiro arrived at the United States in January 1871, when he was 17 years old. According to his biography, the only schools in Tokyo then where one could learn western languages were Daigaku Nanko, Keio Gijuku, Dojinsha and Fukuchi Genichiro’s Kyokan Gijuku (故山川男爵記念会, 1937: 43). Born in Aizu and in extreme poverty, it was impossible for him to learn at these schools. At that time, students were sent overseas by the Treasury Ministry, Foreign Ministry, Education Ministry and others. Director of the

Hokkaido Colonization Office (Kaitakushi) Kuroda Kiyotaka thought that students should be sent overseas not only from Satsuma and Choshu, but also from Aizu where people were used to cold climate, so Yamakawa was selected and he followed Kuroda to the United States (故山川男爵記念会, 1937: 45). Yamakawa arrived at New Brunswick where many Japanese students were staying, but he decided to transfer to Norwich Middle School in Connecticut, which had no other Japanese, so he could master the English language as fast as possible. Through diligence in his studies, he entered Yale University (故山川男爵記念会, 1937: 52-3) in 1872 the following year, and graduated in 1875.

Tajiri Inajiro who arrived in the United States in 1871 at 21 years old studied at Hartford Public High School from 1872, entered Yale University in 1874. Mitsukuri Kakichi arrived in the United States in 1873 at 15 years old, studied at the same high school, and after one year of diligent study, he entered Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, but soon after transferred to Yale University.

Hatoyama, who went to the United States in 1875 at 19 years old, was a Koshinsei (dispatched student from han) at Daigaku Nanko in 1870 (鳩山, 1929:10). Because he met all requirements even while in Japan, he entered Columbia University directly upon arrival in the United States, and graduated two years later in 1877. In autumn the same year, he entered graduate school in Yale University, completed all courses and earned a master's degree in 1878, and finally earned a doctorate degree (DCL) in 1880 (鳩山, 1929: 24-9).

In contrast, Chinese students were very young when they arrived in the United States, so either like Sutematsu they started off by homestay in private homes of American families where they gained basic knowledge

then entered public schools, or like Nagai Shigeko they entered small private schools with dormitories that were run by individual families, where they could be given personal attention in their studies. An exception was the case of the brothers Zeng Pu and Zeng Dugong. The Zeng brothers already had command of the English language before they left for the United States (Rhoads, 2011:33), so they entered a public school directly. Zeng Pu went from the Elm Street School to Springfield High School to Yale University in 1874. His younger brother Zeng Dugong passed through almost the same route before entering Yale University in 1875 (Rhoads, 2011: 87-8).

#### 4) Fields of Study and Earned Degrees

In the 1870's and 1880's, Yale University had two curricula: a 4-year course in classical studies offered at Yale College, and a 3-year course in science offered at Sheffield Scientific School (Sheffield). The classical curriculum considered the classical studies (Greek and Latin) as the basis of all learning. In the first two years, one learned Greek and Latin, Mathematics (Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry) and Rhetoric, and in the following two years English, German, Science (Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Astronomy, and Geology), Logic and Philosophy, History and Social Science, International Law and Constitutional Law, finally, a course on Christianity. In the 3-year science curriculum students studied English, German, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Geography, Political Economics, Drawing and Engineering subjects (Rhoads, 2011: 120-1). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, specialized fields rapidly expanded such that besides a general graduate school, professional graduate schools were also started in Fine Arts, Medicine, Law and Religious Studies (Kelly, 1974: part 3).

The Japanese students, excluding three special students in the Arts

stream, were registered as full-time students in undergraduate school or graduate schools specialized in various fields. They included eight in Sheffield, seven in School of Law, one each in Yale College, School of Medicine, Divinity School, and Graduate School. Two students who entered as graduate students were Hatoyama Kazuo (law), Sho Seijiro (law). Six students who advanced to graduate school were: Tajiri Inajiro and Soma Nagatane (philosophy and arts), Nakashima Rikizo (philosophy), Tsuchiya Soichi (law), Shigemi Shukichi (medicine) and Matsukata Kojiro (law). In comparison, Chinese students were all full-time students, 13 in Yale College and eight in Sheffield.

When choosing a field of study, the Japanese students thought first of what skills government and society would need before their own interests. Several examples are described next. Tajiri Inajiro at first wanted to join the navy, but changed his mind and chose law, then decided to study economics and finance, because he thought the most urgent task of the Meiji government then was “creation of a monetary system, formalization of rent and other taxation systems, and putting government finance in order” (田尻先生伝記及遺稿編纂会、1933: 上24-5). In Mitsukuri’s case, when he was 16 years old and his entry into Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute 10 months later was already approved, he wrote in a letter to House that he was uncertain whether he had the aptitude for Civil Engineering and whether he had the qualities to succeed. In the end, he chose to follow his interests, transferred to Yale University and studied Zoology, and had a highly successful career as the first Japanese Zoology professor at the Imperial University.

Many Japanese students chose to study law. Hatoyama felt at an early stage that “To protect people we need a country, and to build a country we need law.” After he entered Daigaku Nanko, he decided to study Law

because he wanted to end the foreign influence on ideas regarding basis of government, and domination especially in laws concerning foreign affairs (鳩山, 1929: 21). The case of Iwasaki Seishichi, who entered Yale University in 1887 and thus was not included in the list of 21 students, deserves special mention. He thought of studying at Cornell University where he could learn Practical Science specializing in Chemistry since his family business had a soya-sauce factory, however, the course did not agree with his interest and he discontinued. Takahashi Shinkichi, the Consul at New York advised him, “Law will be useful to your future as a businessman, and the Law course is more flexible,” so Iwasaki transferred to Law at Yale University (岩崎, 1933: 57-58). When Japan’s constitution was announced in 1889, all 10 Japanese students in Yale University gathered for a memorial photograph (岩崎, 1933: between 62-63). The enactment of a constitution, the basic laws of a country<sup>19</sup>, was considered a major milestone in Japan’s political maturation and recognition of her standing as a civilized country comparable to the west. This achievement was probably a source of pride to the Japanese overseas students.

In the 1870’s the average number of years on the student register for Japanese students was 1.86 years. From 1882 to 1886, the average was 3.29 years. For the list of 21, the average was 2.33 years. Among those who entered university in the 1870’s, those who graduated at the undergraduate level were Yamakawa, Tajiri and Mitsukuri, and only Hatoyama earned master’s and doctorate degrees, that is, only four out of 14 earned degrees. Among the seven students who entered between 1882 and 1886, Nakashima Rikizo, Tsuchiya Soichi, Shigemi Shukichi, Matsukata Kojiro, Sho Seijiro, and

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<sup>19</sup> These words were used by Aoki Shuzo who was studying law in Berlin University when he explained about “constitution” to Kido Takayoshi at London. (坂根、1970:45)。

Sawada Shunzo, that is, six students earned degrees.

In the case of Chinese students, those who entered prior to 1880 stayed on the average 2.29 years. By the time the CEM program was cancelled in the following year, Zeng Pu, Chen Long, Ouyang Geng and Zhan Tianyou, that is, only four out of 21 had earned degrees. Tan Yaoxun and Rong Kui, who were expelled by the CEM, but stayed on with other financial support, earned Bachelor of Arts in 1883 and 1884, respectively. Lu Yongquan and Li Enfu went back to China but returned later on their own, and earned Bachelor of Philosophy in 1883 and BA in 1887, respectively. In addition, among those repatriated before finishing their studies, four who had distinguished careers were awarded BA in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, after successful petitions by their classmates. They were Huang Kaijia and Zhong Wenyao in 1904, Liang Dunyan in 1907 and Zhang Kangren in 1913. Hence, among the list of 21, a total of 12 earned degrees from Yale University. If the CEM boys had not been recalled in 1881 in the midst of their studies, most of those who had entered Yale University would have earned their degrees.

##### 5) Careers after return

The careers of both countries' students after returning to their home countries were diverse. Among the list of 21 Japanese students, the largest number, eight of them became educators or academics. Yamakawa was Japan's first Doctor of Science (理学博士), and at different periods of time president of Tokyo Imperial University, Kyoto Imperial University and Kyushu Imperial University. Tajiri became a scholar in economics, and was one of the founders of Senshu College. Mitsukuri became a scholar in zoology and dean of the College of Science of Tokyo Imperial University. Tsuda Jun'ichi became a scholar in law and an educator. Matsui became



dean of the College of Agriculture of Tokyo Imperial University, and also president of Tokyo Imperial University. Yamanaka was a professor in the Third Higher School and in Doshisha University<sup>20</sup>. Nakashima was a scholar in ethics and a professor in the College of Letters of Tokyo Imperial University. Shigemi was an educator and medical doctor.

Three had careers in government service: Ohara who was the first president of the Bank of Japan, Akabane who was a diplomat and Envoy to Spain, and Iwao who was a bureaucrat in the Justice Ministry and a governor. Three had political careers: Hatoyama who became chairman of the Lower House, Okabe who was governor of Kyoto, an Upper House member and Justice Minister, and Shimazu who was an Upper House member.

Three had business careers: Tsuda Seiichi who founded Taiwan Takushoku Kosha, Matsukata who was the first president of Kawasaki Dockyard Company and also a Lower House member, and Sho who was a director in Mitsubishi Goshi Kaisha. Sawada was a lawyer and vice-president of the Tokyo Advocates' Union (東京代言人組合). Hara Rokuro was a banker and President of Yokohama Specie Bank. Soma Nagatane had a varied career in politics, banking and education that included Lower House member, President of Yokohama Specie Bank, and founder of Senshu College. Tsuchiya Soichi was very talented and obtained a doctorate in Law in 1890 at 23 years of age, but passed away soon after (Yale Obituary Record, 1890-1891: 62) and was completely unknown back in Japan. His name was

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<sup>20</sup> According to 「唐津藩開国論秘話：長行公と山中藩士」『唐津歳時記』, 「幸徳は勉学につとめて首尾よく卒業し、文学士・神学士の学位を得て帰国し、当時の第三高等学校（現京都大学）及び同志社大学の教授を歴任、高等官五等に任ぜられた」<http://www.geocities.jp/tamatorijisi/kaikokuronhiwa.html> (last accessed Sept 25, 2015).

mentioned in an article titled “Yale’s Japanese Student” on The New York Times, May 28, 1888, “(Tsuchiya) is studying at Yale under the direction of his guardian, Oguma of Tokio, the newly-elected Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is a strong competitor for the John A. Porter prize, one of the most coveted honors at Yale”.

Among the Chinese students who entered Yale University, Tan Yaoxun and Rong Kui were given repatriation orders but escaped enroute and remained in the United States. A private student, Chen Long, returned to China for a short while but he migrated to Hawaii to help his father’s business, where he died in 1889 (Yale Obituary Record, 1890: 593). Among the remaining 18, Zeng Pu was expelled from the CEM as punishment for cutting off his plaid, but continued studies in Yale University and graduated (Rhoads, 2011: 150-1). He passed away in China in 1890 (Rhoads, 2011: 192). His brother, Zeng Dugong discontinued studies prematurely, returned back to China with Zeng Pu (Rhoads, 2011: 135), and became a journalist in Shanghai (Rhoads, 2011: 190). Rong Shangqin also did not finish his studies, but returned to China and became a teacher (Yung, 1939: 25). Zhong Juncheng was forcibly repatriated in 1880 for cutting off his plaid (Rhoads, 2011: 136, 151). He found jobs in the United States Consulates in Guangdong, Hong Kong and elsewhere, and was also a translator in the Chinese Consulate in Nagasaki (岡本, 2014:77). Among the remaining 14 students who were recalled in 1881, 12 were assigned to be trained in various foreign-affairs posts by Li Hongzhang (Rhoads, 2011: 189, 190-2). Chen Jurong, Lu Yongquan, Ouyang Geng and Zhan Tianyou were assigned to the Fuzhou Navy Yard School. Zhang Kangren and Li Enfu were assigned to the Tianjin Naval Academy. Huang Kaijia and Zhong Wen Yao were assigned to the Shanghai Water Conservancy Bureau. Cai Shaoji was assigned to Tianjin

customs. Tang Guoan was assigned to the Tianjin Medical School. Liang Dunyan was assigned to the Tianjin Telegraph School. Qi Zuyi was assigned to Jiangnan Arsenal. The initial assignments of the last two were unclear. It seems that in later years Liu Jiazhao had a diplomatic job (Yung, 1939: 19), and Chen Peihu worked at the United States Consulate in Zhenjiang (Rhoads, 2011: 203).

Some of them decided, after working for some years, to resume their studies. Lu Yongquan, Zhang Kangren and Li Enfu returned to the United States; Lu and Li rejoined Yale University, but Zhang transferred to Columbia University (Rhoads, 2011: 205). Tang Guoan left his medical career after one year, and after several jobs in commerce, mining and railway, he became a writer, diplomat and the principal of Tsinghua School (CEMC, Students, Tang Guoan).

The Qing government eventually realized the importance to cultivate talents who were fluent with western languages and informed about foreign affairs. Among the list of 21 Yale University students, Lu Yongquan, Ouyang Geng, Zhong Wen Yao, Rong Kui, Zhong Juncheng (岡本, 2014: 62, 65, 67-9), and Tan Yaoxun were assigned to overseas diplomatic posts, Huang Kaijia accompanied Prince Zaizhen to King Edward VII's coronation and Prince Pulun to the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and Liang Dunyan became President, Board of Foreign Affairs in 1908 (CEMC, Students). It is interesting to note that overseas students who had broken rules and were consequently punished were also favorably treated by the Qing authorities. Rong Kui and Tan Yaoxun, after escaping, were employed by the Embassy at Washington and Consulate at New York, respectively, after their graduation. Zhong Juncheng, who was repatriated, was employed at the Consulate at Nagasaki.

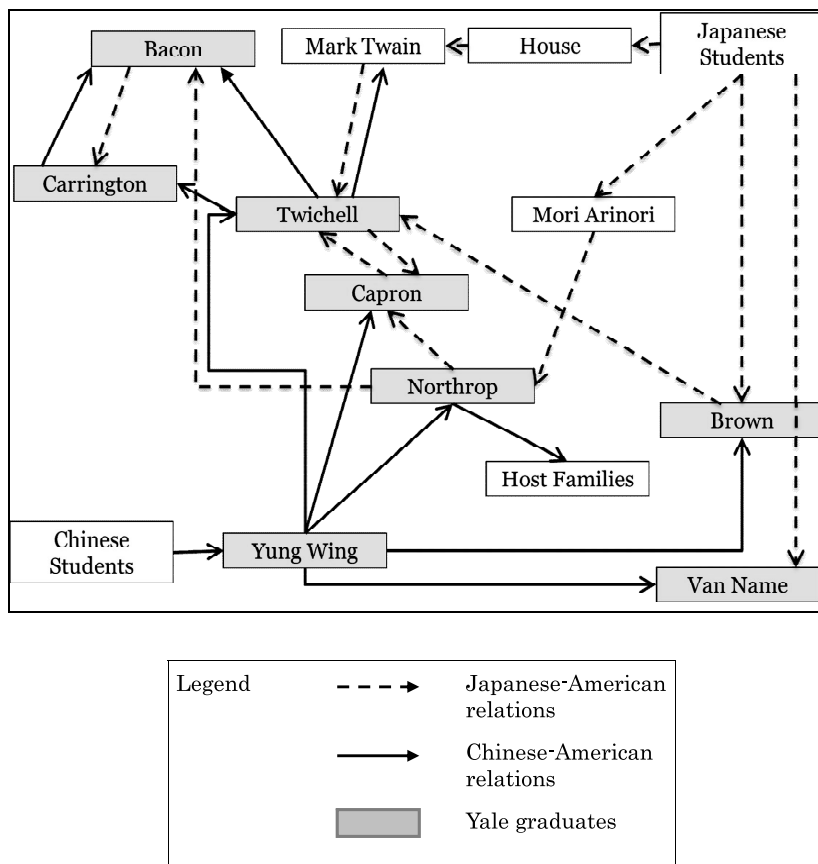
After returning from their studies abroad, both Japanese and Chinese overseas students received appreciation for their fluency in English, knowledge of foreign affairs, and specialized skills in fields that the home countries lacked. They were applied to jobs that required these knowledge and skills, but in contrast to Japan which gave important positions to its returned students because of its national policy to rapidly modernize, China assigned its returned students to work under traditional high officials in the imperial system. It was only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that some CEM boys rose to the center of power when the Qing government implemented the Xinzheng Reforms (Rhoads, 2011: 207–10).

## V. Conclusions

The relationships between Japanese and Chinese overseas students through their links with Orientalist Americans in 19<sup>th</sup> century New England can be summarized by Figure 1. Among the Americans, all were Yale University graduates if Mark Twain and House were excluded. Host families of the CEM boys were also mostly related to the Yale community.

Japanese and Chinese overseas students examined in this paper had much chance to meet one another and interact in many ways. Monson Academy was a good example. Rong Shangqin was a student there from 1864 to 1868, while Ohara Reinosuke was there from 1866 to 1869. Another was Hartford Public High School. Tajiri and Yokoi were students there between 1872 and 1874, while Mitsukuri and Kojima were there between 1873 and 1874. They probably knew the Chinese overseas student Chen Long who was there about the same period, and who was friendly with Pastor Twichell. Moreover, between 1876 and 1878, another 10 Chinese overseas students were there<sup>21</sup>, among whom Cai Shaoji, Chen Jurong, Huang Kaijia, Liang

Figure 1 Cross-cultural contacts among Americans, Japanese and Chinese



Dunyan and Zhong Wen Yao advanced to Yale University. In the same period, Matsudaira and Komai were students there. In the case of Sheffield, when Okabe Nagamoto was student there in 1881, Ouyang Geng and Zhan

<sup>21</sup> The 10 Chinese students were Cai Shaoji, Chen Jurong, Deng Shicong, Huang Kaijia, Huang Zhongliang, Liang Dunyan, Qian Wenkui, Zhang Kangren, Zhong Juncheng, Zhong Wen Yao.

Tianyou were one year his senior, Chen Jurong, Lu Yongquan and Zhong Juncheng were classmates and Qi Zuyi was one year his junior.

In section IV, Japanese and Chinese students were surveyed and compared with respect to their family backgrounds, ages when first arrived and motivations for overseas study. Factors that would deter their mutual friendship were not apparent. The conditions under which they earned their degrees and career paths later on showed that all applied themselves diligently to study. When they were learning a western culture while living in a foreign environment, they shared common objectives. Moreover, both groups came from cultures that used common Chinese characters and that were influenced by Confucian teachings. They had the same skin color. They were minorities living in a western community. Even if they were not bound by comradeship arising from their Asian origins, it would be natural to assume that their common traits and circumstances gave them mutual feelings of affinity and understanding. However, the author has yet to find evidence of strong ties between them.

The international situation at that time could be one reason. During the gold rush and building of the Transcontinental Railroad, large numbers of Chinese immigrant laborers came to the United States. In the 1870's after the American Civil War, the country's economy was in shambles. In California, resentment towards Chinese immigrant laborers led to a movement to abolish Chinese labor. Although Chinese overseas students in New England, who, immersed amongst America's elite in an environment isolated from the laborers, might not feel biased (Rhoads, 2011:221), a sentiment was going through the American public that while the Japanese were "equipped with unrivaled wisdom for the future" the Chinese were "obstinate, rebellious and uneducated people" (ジャンセン, 2003: 28-9).

Even Pastor Brown, who treated both Japanese and Chinese students equally with love, held greater expectation for the Japanese than the Chinese. He wrote, “Compared to people from their neighbor country, the Japanese are much more interested in matters concerning other countries and never have a disinterested attitude. They are awake to knowledge and have rich minds towards research.” (高谷, 1965: 56). The different recognitions of Japanese and Chinese might have obstructed development of solidarity among the Asian students, and led to rethinking of their identities and heightened feelings of nationalism.

There were a few exceptions. One of the Japanese overseas students made an attempt to objectively analyze the anti-Chinese movement. The main speaker at a Boston citizens’ debate held in April 1879 in Boston, Saito Shuichiro of the first detachment of monbusho-sponsored overseas students, claimed that exclusion of Chinese was not a collision between civilizations, but came about from the background confrontation between capital and labor classes (The Daily Gazette, May 1, 1879). In 1877, at a university current affairs debate, Harvard University student Kaneko Kentaro commented on the frequent Irish student attacks on the Chinese and their proposal to expel them, saying, “... as a fellow Asian, I stood with anger and expressed in detail my reasons against the law to oust Chinese, which was not only a violation of the treaty between America and China but also went against human compassion, and violated America’s founding principles.” (高瀬, 1997: 124; 1995: 135). However, further evidences of solidarity could not be found. The general sentiment was exemplified by an incident involving Tsuda Umeko when she was an elementary pupil. When a black boy mistook her for a “rat-eating” Chinese, she frantically denied she was Chinese but was Japanese (古木, 1997: 53). The Japanese of this period still

did not have the contempt of Chinese typical after the First Sino-Japanese War. But they had a keen sense of crisis that Japan would be invaded and divided by western nations, should she be viewed as another China. It may be said that Japan's modernization process had the help of China's negative example.

Japan first sent overseas students to study in Holland in 1862, while China's CEM started in 1872. Japan's "declaration" of her aim to modernize began with the Charter Oath in 1868, while China decreed to abolish the Imperial Examinations in 1905. Japan's first national university, Tokyo Imperial University, was opened in 1877, while China's Imperial University of Peking opened in 1902. In most aspects of the modernization process, China lagged behind Japan. Moreover, the difference was not only in speed, but also in the level of achievement. On the other hand, when Japanese and Chinese overseas students in Yale University are compared, the result shows they set off on similar starting points, which was also observed by Gen Ansei in comparing Kume Kunitake and Guo Songtao. The students lived in the same towns in the United States, at the same period of time, and learned from the same university. Their careers, as described in section IV, however, showed different patterns. The Chinese overseas students, after returning to China, had less opportunities to contribute to their home country's modernization, in great contrast to Japanese overseas students. What was the significance of their overseas study experiences in the United States to their personal lives and to their countries? This is an issue for further comparative study.

Until the First Sino-Japanese War, the encounter between Japanese and Chinese overseas students aspiring to learn from the west were never in their home countries but in the places of their overseas study. However,



even though they met, there was not much interaction on the whole. The next time they were to meet was ironically when dozens of them from both countries met on the battlefields of the First Sino-Japanese War (錢鋼, 2003: 190-7). Although they set off from similar starting points and learned the same western technologies and knowledge, China came out as the underdog. From then on, Japan became another destination for overseas study to Chinese students.

The ground was set for communication between Japan and China in second-half 19<sup>th</sup> century New England, but deeper interaction and solidarity did not seem to have grown between the overseas students. Moreover, in spite of the fact that China fell far behind Japan in modernization, both countries had overseas students who had the same western training under the same environment at the start.

This paper stops at pointing out these observations. How this history affected Sino-Chinese relations in following years will be left to future research.

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## Glossary

### Chinese Names

<u>Name</u>	<u>氏名</u>	<u>Anglicized Name</u>
Cai Shaoji	蔡紹基	Tsai Shou Kie
Cai Tinggan	蔡廷幹	Choy Ting Kon
Cao Jiexiang	曹嘉祥	
Chen Jurong	陳鉅鏞	Chin (Chun) Kee Yung
Chen Fang	陳芳	Chun Afong
Chen Long	陳龍	Chun Lung
Chen Peihu	陳佩瑚	Chin Poy Woo
Deng Guiting	鄧桂廷	
Deng Shicong	鄧士聰	
Guo Songtao	郭嵩燾	
Hu Shi	胡適	
Huang Kaijia	黃開甲	Wong Kae (Kai) Kah
Huang Kuan	黃寬	
Huang Sheng	黃勝	
Huang Yaochang	黃耀昌	
Huang Zhongliang	黃仲良	
Huang Zulian	黃祖蓮	
Kang Gengling	康賡齡	
Li Enfu	李恩富	Lee Yan Phou
Li Hongzhang	李鴻章	
Li Rugan	李汝淦	
Liang Dunyan	梁敦彥	Liang Tun Yen
Liang Ruhao	梁如浩	



Liu Jiazhao	劉家照	Low (Lew) Kia Chau
Lu Xigui	陸錫貴	
Lu Yongquan	陸永泉	Chuan Lok Wing
Lu Zuhua	盧祖華	
Luo Guorui	羅國瑞	
Ouyang Geng	歐陽庚	Owyang Keng
Pan Mingzhong	潘銘鍾	
Qi Zuyi	祁祖彝	Ki Tsu Ye
Qian Wenkui	錢文魁	
Rong Kui	容揆	Yung Kwai
Rong Shangqian	容尚謙	
Rong Shangqin	容尚勤	Lemuel Yung
Shen Jiashu	沈嘉樹	
Tan Yaoxun	譚耀勳	Tan Yew Fun
Tang Guoan	唐國安	Tong Kowh (Kwoh) On
Tang Shaoyi	唐紹儀	
Tang Tingshu	唐廷樞	
Wang Renbin	王仁彬	
Wu Huanrong	吳煥榮	
Wu Jingrong	吳敬榮	
Wu Qizao	吳其藻	
Wu Yangzeng	吳仰曾	
Xu Zhenpeng	徐振鵬	
Yung Wing	容閔	
Zeng Dugong	曾篤恭	Spencer Laisun
Zeng Laishun	曾來順	Chan Laisun
Zeng Pu	曾溥	Elijah Laisun

Zhan Tianyou	詹天佑	Jeme Tien Yow
Zhang Kangren	張康仁	Chang Hong Yen
Zhang Xianghe	張祥和	
Zheng Tingxiang	鄭廷襄	
Zhong Juncheng	鍾俊成	Chung Tsung Ching
Zhong Wen Yao	鍾文耀	Chung Mun Yew
Zhou Chuan'e	周傳諤	
Zhou Chuanjian	周傳諫	
Zhu Baokui	朱寶奎	

#### Japanese Names

<u>Name</u>	<u>氏名</u>	<u>Anglicized Name</u>
Akabane Shiro	赤羽四郎	
Asakawa Kan'ichi	朝河貫一	
Ashihara Shuhei	蘆原周平	
Fukuchi Genichiro	福地源一郎	
Gen Ansei	嚴安生	
Hara Rokuro	原六郎	Hara Nagamasa
Harada Tasuku	原田助	
Hashiguchi Sogi	橋口宗儀	
Hatoyama Kazuo	鳩山和夫	
Hidaka Jiro	日高次郎	
Ichihara Morihiro	市原盛宏	
Ichiki Sosuke	市来宗介	Ichidu, Ichique
Inoue Ryochi	井上良智	
Ito Hirobumi	伊藤博文	
Iwao Saburo	岩男三郎	

Iwasaki Seishichi	岩崎清七	
Kabayama Sugehide	樺山資英	
Kanda Naibu	神田乃武	
Kaneko Kentaro	金子堅太郎	
Kikuchi Takeo	菊池武夫	
Kito Ichisuke	木藤市助	
Kodama Shokichi	児玉章吉	
Kojima Noriyuki	小島憲之	Kozima Noriyuki
Komai Shigetada	駒井重格	
Koya Saburo	神屋三郎	
Kume Kunitake	久米邦武	
Kunitomo Takinosuke	国友滝之助	
Kuno Akiko	久野明子	
Kuroda Kiyotaka	黒田清隆	
Machida Keijiro	町田啓次郎	Machida Kayziro
Matsudaira Sadanori	松平定教	
Matsui Naokichi	松井直吉	Matsui Nawokichi
Matsukata Kojiro	松方幸次郎	
Megata Tanetaro	目賀田種太郎	
Mitsukuri Genpo	箕作阮甫	
Mitsukuri Kakichi	箕作佳吉	
Mogami Goro	最上五郎	Mogami Gorow
Mori Arinori	森有礼	
Muto Shutaro	武藤秀太郎	
Nagai Shigeko	永井繁子	
Nanbu Hidemaro	南部英磨	
Nakashima Rikizo	中島力造	

Nozawa Keiichi	野澤鷄一	
Ogura Matsuo	小倉松夫	
Ohara Reinosuke	大原 令之助	Ohara Reynoske
Okabe Nagamoto	岡部長職	
Okubo Toshitake	大久保利武	
Omura Sumio	大村純雄	
Oyama Iwao	大山巖	
Saigo Takamori	西郷隆盛	
Saionji Kinmochi	西園寺公望	
Saito Shuichiro	齊藤修一郎	
Sawada Shunzo	澤田俊三	
Serata Tasuku	世良田亮	
Shigemi Shukichi	重見周吉	Shigemi Shiukichi
Shimazu Matanoshin	島津又之進	Shimadz Matanosin Tadaakira
Shimazu Tadahiro	島津忠寛	
Shiozaki Satoshi	塩崎智	
Sho Seijiro	莊清次郎	
Soma Nagatane	相馬永胤	
Tajiri Inajiro	田尻稻次郎	
Takahashi Shinkichi	高橋新吉	
Tanimura Issa	谷邨一佐	
Tsuchiya Soichi	土屋宗一	
Tsuda Jun'ichi	津田純一	
Tsuda Seiichi	津田静一	Tsuda Sayeach
Tsuda Umeko	津田梅子	
Uchida Susumu	内田晋	
Uryu Sotokichi	瓜生外吉	

Yae Kinsaburo	八戸欽三郎	Yaye Kinzabran G
Yamakawa Kenjiro	山川健次郎	
Yamakawa Sutomatsu	山川捨松	Yamakawa Stemats
Yamanaka Koto	山中幸徳	
Yokoi Chikashi	横井幾	Yokoi Tikashe
Yoshida Shoin	吉田松陰	
Yoshida Tetsutaro	吉田鉄太郎	
Yoshihara Shigetoshi	吉原重俊	
Yuasa Kichiro	湯浅吉郎	
Yuchi Jiemon	湯地治右衛門	